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ABSTRACT

This study gives a brief history of the United States' 1980 boycott of the Summer Olympic Games in Moscow, but focuses mainly on the government publications that grew out of that event. Section 1 provides a short history of the boycott, while section 2 centers on President Jimmy Carter and his role in the boycott, citing information gathered from speeches he made, correspondence he generated, and meetings he held in the course of the Olympic crisis. In section 3, Congress and its reaction to the boycott are examined, citing information gathered from the "Congressional Record"; major newspapers and magazines; and various resolutions, hearings, and debates. Section 4 deals with other government documents on the boycott, primarily State Department publications. Also included are four appendices: (1) a comprehensive daily schedule of events leading up to, and including, the 1980 Olympic Boycott; (2) a weekly compilation of Presidential documents on the boycott; (3) congressional resolutions relating to the Olympic Boycott (41 in all); and (4) a list of other government documents relating to the boycott. (JM)

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GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE 1980 OLYMPIC GAMES BOYCOTT

A Contents Analysis and Bibliography

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GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE

1980 SUMMER OLYMPIC GAMES BOYCOTT

"The Olympic Games are contests between individuals and not between countries or areas." Olympic Rule No. 10[1]

This paper will give a brief history of the 1980 boycott of the Summer Olympic Games in Moscow, but will focus mainly on the government publications which grew out of this controversial event. These documents include resolutions, hearings, speeches, public laws, statements, etc. and collectively add up to more government material for this one sporting event than any other athletic competition in American history.

Through this report I hope to evaluate what was said in many of the documents, see if an accurate account of the boycott was given, check both sides of the issues, and note what resulted from these actions.

To find the documents used in this paper, such indexes as the Monthly Catalog of United States Government Publications and Congressional Information Service were reviewed to see what materials existed. These items were then located in the University of Illinois Library, read, and contents analyzed.

Also included in this report is an extensive bibliography of government documents relating to the boycott and a comprehensive chronology of events.

The Olympic boycott had been a highly controversial topic among many Americans. In a Gallup Poll taken January 15, 1980, over 71 percent of the U.S. citizens supported President Carter's proposed boycott of the Olympics as opposed to 17 percent who rejected the idea.[2] Two months later, when the boycott became a reality, the majority of supporters dropped to 61 percent.[3]

As the reader will notice from this paper, not only was the public very much pro-boycott, but also many of the government officials.

HISTORY OF THE OLYMPIC BOYCOTT

On December 27, 1979, President Hafizullah Amin of Afghanistan was ousted from power, executed, and replaced by exiled former Deputy Premier Babrak Karmal. This overthrow was engineered by the Soviet Union which had airlifted an estimated 30,000 soldiers by December 29, 1979 and an additional 70,000 a few weeks later.[4]

In a nationally televised address on January 4, 1980, U.S. President Jimmy Carter denounced the Soviet intervention as an extremely serious threat to peace and said the U.S. would consider boycotting the 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow.[5]

Carter formally proposed, January 20, 1980, that the Games be moved, postponed, or cancelled unless all Soviet troops were removed from Afghanistan in one month.[6]

Sympathy with the U.S. proposal was not long in coming. Support came from such leaders as British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Canadian Prime Minister Joe Clark. Although participation in an actual boycott would have to be determined by the National Olympic Committee of each country, the U.S. position found growing support.[7]

The moral reasons for staying away from Moscow were put in a nutshell by Nelson Ledsky, head of the Olympic Task Force of the U.S. State Department. "There is something repellent," said Ledsky, "about Soviet troops in Afghanistan at the same time flights of doves are being let loose in Moscow."

Carter and the State Department realized full well that a disruption of the Moscow Games would also have a devastating political and social effect on the Soviet Union. It was perhaps the most damaging weapon in Carter's

diplomatic arsenal.

For the boycotters, there would be a price to pay. A variety of U.S. companies stood to lose millions. The National Broadcasting Company (N.B.C.), which was to have televised the Games in the U.S., would sacrifice a reported $22 million in outlay not covered by insurance as well as untold millions in advertising revenue.[8] Coca-Cola, designated the official soft drink at the Moscow Olympics, would not be there and all American suppliers of uniforms, souvenirs, equipment, and technology would have to cancel important business.[9]

The biggest loser, of course, were the athletes. Whether or not they agreed with the boycott, they were understandably, intensely disappointed. For many, it was the loss of a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. Years of single-minded dedication and forward-looking enthusiasm - not to mention financial strain, the sacrifice of friends and education, and the shear physical pain of training - went "down the drain."

From the outset there were several proposals to salvage something for the athletes. Carter first promised that every effort would be made to organize an alternative sports festival in which athletes from non-participating countries could compete.[10] The plans were scuttled.

A proposal which had been made in the past, but which now gained more serious consideration, was to move the Games to a permanent site. The enormous cost of putting on the Games and the few choices of host cities greatly reduced the possibilities. The Greek government offered Olympia, the birthplace of the Olympics, as a permanent site, but the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.) stood by its committment to Moscow for 1980. The idea of a permanent site was set aside; at least for the time being.[11]

Some U.S. athletes proposed that they be allowed to participate in the Moscow Games, but not take part in the opening, closing, or medal ceremonies.[12]

The National Olympic Committees of several European countries suggested that the Games be held in Moscow but without the usual political trappings. All nations would march under the Olympic flag, all athletes would wear the same uniform, no national anthem would be played, and no flags would be raised at the medal ceremonies. The I.O.C. decided to allow teams the option of not using the national flags or anthems at Olympic ceremonies, but ruled out the other suggestions.

Even as all the proposals were being debated and dismissed, the boycott machinery was moving into high gear. The U.S. House of Representatives and Senate overwhelmingly approved resolutions supporting Carter's stand.[13]

At a February 9, 1980 meeting of the I.O.C. in Lake Placid, New York, then U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance reiterated to the committee that his government opposed sending a team to the Olympic Games "in the capital of an invading nation." Days later, United States Olympic Committee (U.S.O.C.) President Robert Kane announced that his organization would "accept any decision concerning U.S. participation in the Games the President makes..."[14]

February 20, 1980 was the deadline set by President Carter for the Soviets to pull out its troops from Afghanistan. However, it passed with no change in the status quo, and the boycott was officially on. All that remained was a vote by the U.S. House of Delegates (U.S.O.C.) in mid-April. In the meantime, numerous foreign governments and several National Olympic Committees came out in support of the boycott.[15]

On April 12, 1980, the U.S.O.C. delegates voted in favor of the boycott by a 2-to-1 margin. The resolution did contain a promise to send a team "if the President of the U.S. advises the U.S.O.C. on or before May 20, 1980 that international events have become compatible with the nation and national security is no longer threatened."[16]

The I.O.C. announced after the May 24, 1980 deadline, the names of those nations planning to attend and those expecting to boycott the 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow. There were 85 nations accepting invitations such as Australia, France, Great Britian, and Sweden. Besides the U.S., there were 26 other countries who declined the bid including Canada, China, Israel, Japan, and West Germany. There were also 27 countries not responding such as Norway and Egypt.[17]

The XXII Olympic Games began on July 19, 1980 and the boycott began. It also meant that this was the first Olympic contest ever staged in a communistic country.

A complete history of the 1980 Summer Olympic Games boycott can be found in Appendix I.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE OLYMPIC BOYCOTT

Because the boycott was President Carter's "pet project", he spoke on the subject numerous times. In fact, there are 45 separate entries in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents from January 4, 1980 to October 20, 1980. Included are 34 speeches, addresses, interviews, and question-and-answer sessions; eight statements and announcements; two letters and mailgrams; and one each of memorandums and acts.

The following are several of the highlights of Carter and his involvement with the boycott as revealed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents.

Carter's first mention of the boycott appeared in a nationally televised address January 4, 1980, when he denounced the Soviet intervention as "an extremely serious threat to peace..."

He also said that although the United States would prefer not to withdraw from the Olympic Games, but "the Soviet Union must realize that the continued aggressive actions will endanger both the participation of athletes and the travel to Moscow by spectators who would normally attend the Olympic Games."[18]

For two weeks, the President restrained himself hoping in vain for some sign that the Soviet Union would heed the warning he had delivered. With Soviet troops still very much in Afghanistan, the President decided it was time for a flat-out ultimatum - if those forces were not off Afgan territory by February 20, 1980, the U.S. would not compete in Moscow.

Carter outlined his position on television's "Meet the Press" and in a four-page letter to the U.S.O.C. He asked U.S.O.C. officials to convey to the I.O.C. his convictions that unless the Kremlin met his deadline, the Summer Games should be moved to another site or sites, postponed, or cancelled.

In his talk, Carter said that if the Soviet Union ignored his ultimatum, he hoped "as many nations as possible would support scrapping the Moscow Games, and that, moreover, he would personally, prefer that future Olympics be held at a permanent site - in the case of the Summer Games, in Greece, their original home.[19]

The President also noted that the American people were squarely in favor of a boycott of the Moscow Games which certainly appeared to be true - and which no doubt influenced the timing of his decision.

Writing to the U.S.O.C., Carter noted, "the desirability to keeping government policy out of the Olympics." However, he argued that "the Soviet Government attaches enormous political importance to holding the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow, and if the Olympics are not held there because of Soviet military aggression in Afghanistan, this powerful sight of world outrage cannot be hidden from the Soviet people, and will be reverberated around the globe."[20]

Carter, in his "State of the Union" address said that in order to penalize the Soviet Union, he would not only boycott the Olympics, but also not issue fishing permits to Russian ships and cut off shipments of highly-technology equipment and agriculture products to the U.S.S.R. The President made this statement because of the criticism by the press as to "Why make only the athletes suffer."[21]

In news conferences and question-and-answer sessions during the months of February and March, one question was always raised as to the U.S. position in the boycott. It seemed the press was trying to see if there was any possible way around a boycott. Carter, however, would come back with his "pro-boycott poll" by saying "I do believe that the overwhelming support that I've seen so far in America will not wane for my refusing to go to the Olympics in Moscow.[22]

The President, while drumming up support from American citizens, was also looking towards getting international leaders on his side as well. Carter sent out over 100 letters to presidents and prime ministers asking them to help back the U.S. boycott. When these leaders came to the U.S. to visit, Carter would make it a point to discuss the Olympic crisis with them.

Two of these occasions were mentioned in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents. The first was when Carter made a joint press statement with Chancellor Schmidt of West Germany in which both men agreed their countries should boycott the Olympics. Earlier, Carter had done a similar thing with President Moi of Kenya.[23]

Carter told a group of American athletes March 21, 1980, that his decision not to send a U.S. contingent to the Olympic Games was irreversible. These athletes were members of the Athletic Advisory Council of the U.S.O.C. and spent two days listening to the President and his aids speak on the pros and cons of an Olympic boycott.

In a firm way he said, "I can't say at this moment what other nations will not go to the Summer Olympics in Moscow. Ours will not go. I say that without any equivocation. The decision has been made."[24]

An important White House statement was released March 28, 1980, in which the President announced he had urged American businessmen not to participate in or contribute to the holdings of the Summer Games. He directed the Secretary of Commerce to (1) deny licenses for goods and technology to be used in support of the Summer Games; (2) revoke export licenses for Olympic-related exports that had not been shipped; (3) impose controls on all exports not requiring licenses in support of the Olympics; and (4) prohibit payments associated with all Olympic-related exports.[25]

A week before the U.S.O.C. House of Delegates was to vote on the boycott, Carter sent a mailgram to each voting member urging his support at the ballot box. In this letter Carter stated that "a U.S.O.C. decision to send a team to Moscow would be against our national security. It would indicate to the Soviets and to the entire world that the U.S. lacks the resolve to oppose Soviet aggression and would weaken the international Olympic movement."[26]

In a speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Carter came out with a bombsheel aimed at the Russians. In reading from the Handbook for Party Militants in the Communist Party (1980) he quoted:

> "The idealogical struggle between East and West is directly involved in the selection of the cities where the Olympic Games take place. The decision to award the Olympic Games to the capital of the world's first socialist state is convincing testimony of the general recognition of the historic importance and correctness of the foreign policy course of our country, and of the enormous service of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace."27

This statement was carried by the press and appeared numerous times in the Congressional Record, other government publications, newspapers, and periodicals.

His second bombshell of the speech was, "If legal actions are necessary to enforce the decision not to send a team to Moscow, then I will take those legal action."

The U.S.O.C. had until May 24, 1980, the deadline for the Summer Olympic entries to make its decision. The Carter Administration wanted the U.S.O.C. to endorse the boycott sooner than that, in order to show other nations that the U.S. was unified behind the boycott.

Among the tactics used were: (1) bringing U.S.O.C. representatives to Washington for discussions with high-level White House, congressional, State Department, and Defense Department officials; (2) encouraging corporations to reduce or withhold contributions to the U.S.O.C. unless the organization backed the boycott; (3) invoking emergency powers in the Amateur Sports Act of 1978

to block federal subsidies to the U.S.O.C.; and (4) threatened to revoke the U.S.O.C.'s tax-exempt status.

When Carter had finally pressured the U.S.O.C. into officially boycotting the Olympics, he issued a White House statement April 12, 1980, to the effect that there would be no chance that the U.S. would ever go to the 1980 Olympics, even if the Soviets pulled out of Afghanistan before May 20, 1980. Contrary to that, the U.S.O.C. House of Delegates said that even though they voted to boycott the Olympics, if the Soviets pulled out, they would go to Moscow.[28] It would have been interesting if that situation had occurred so that we could have seen who was going to give in first: the U.S.O.C. or President Carter.

In a talk to reporters from Pennsylvania, Carter explained "that an effective Olympic boycott would be the greatest psychological blow to the Russians." He stated that the Soviet citizens weren't aware that 104 nations had condemned the U.S.S.R. invasion of Afghanistan and it would be difficult for the Russian government to explain why a number of nations were staying away from Moscow.[29]

An interesting little notice appeared May 9, 1980, as the White House announced that the Administration proposed an amendment to the 1980 budget to assist the U.S.O.C. in launching a major fund-raising drive. The proposal called for an appropriation of $1 of Federal funds for every $2 that the Committee was able to raise from non-Federal sources. The maximum Federal contributions mentioned was $11 million.[30]

Several newspaper reporters claimed this was part of the deal Carter made with the U.S.O.C. for their pro-boycott vote. However, two weeks later, another White House announcement stated that the President met with 20 chairmen and presidents of leading American corporations to support the U.S.O.C. fund-raising drive.[31]

On July 4, 1980, Carter appeared at a town meeting in Merced, California and answered for the umpteenth time, "Is the U.S. going to the Olympics this year?" His response gave a clear cut position as to why the U.S. was pro-boycott:

> "There will be an Olympic Games in Moscow but the U.S. will not participate. I'm sorry this happened, but there are times when our country must stand for principles and for what is right. The Olympic Games are supposed to be to enhance peace and brotherhood and friendship. When the Soviet Union just before the Olympic Games invades an innocent country and kills literally thousands of men, women, and children who had done them no harm and then professes with a great propaganda effort they they are the peaceloving nation on earth and that the Olympic Games were actually assigned to Moscow because their foreign policy and their principles were right, it's time for the nations to let them know that they cannot get away with that false claim and propaganda."32

After this stirring speech, Carter followed it up by stating he was planning to give each U.S. Olympic team member a medal, was going to honor them in Washington D.C., and would try to visit the athletes at as many Olympic Trials as possible.

When the athletes did appear in Washington, Carter spoke with them twice on July 20, 1980 and once with the U.S. Olympic swimming team, August 5, 1980. In his remarks, he explained what would have happened if we had decided to go to the Olympics after all.

He claimed "it would have been impossible for us credibly to maintain our leadership on the world scale in our continuing effort to seek freedom in Afghanistan...Our participation would have sent an unmistakable message to the Soviet government, the Soviet people, and to people all over the world. That message would have been this: the U.S. might not like the idea of aggression and the deprivation of freedom for people, but when it really comes down to it, we are willing to join the parade as if nothing had happened. For the same of world peace, we cannot and could not allow such a message to be conveyed."

Not all documents found in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents were discussed in this chapter, but a complete listing with dates and page numbers can be located in Appendix II.

CONGRESS AND THE BOYCOTT

No government agency has written more on the Olympic boycott than the U.S. Congress. Through the Congressional Record and several hearing prints, one is able to get a feeling of how the legislators felt about this controversial sporting event.

One of the most informative parts of the Congressional Record was the newspaper and periodical articles which appeared in among the Senate and House remarks and the extention section. By looking in the index and going to the specified pages, one can read over 60 articles related to the boycott, 37 of them in the month of January alone.

Some of these excerpts came from such prestigious publications as the New York Times, Washington Post, and Newsweek as well as lesser known papers including small city dailies and college newspapers.

Several legislators were known for placing most of these articles in the Congressional Record. Senator David Pryor, for example, inserted 12 pages of articles among one of his debates on the boycott. Two other notorious inserters were Senator Daniel Moynihan and Representative Edward Derwinski.

A sampling of titles of articles include: "We Won't Go to Moscow," "Boycott Only Hurts Athletes," "Seven Reasons to Boycott," "Russians Play Politics So Put 'Em in the Penalty Box," "86 Percent in Poll Back Boycott of Olympics," "1936: a Move to Boycott Failed." Only one out of every ten articles was anti-boycott.

Also included in the Congressional Record were a number of broadcasts, interviews, letters, reports, statements, and press releases. All of these made for informative reading and gives an idea of what other personalities in

government and the sporting world had to say on the boycott subject.

From January 17, 1980 to January 28, 1980, there were over a dozen congressional resolutions which urged the U.S. to boycott the Olympic Games. Some of these included H. Con. Res. 239, 242, 244, 245, 247, 249, 250, 254, 255, 256, and Sen. Con. Res. 64, 66, 68, and 70.

Of these, H. Con. Res. 249, introduced by Congressman Clement Zablocki on January 22, 1980, was the one considered by Congress. It urged (1) public support for the U.S.O.C. and athletes; (2) the I.O.C. to accede to the U.S.O.C.'s proposal to transfer, postpone, or cancel the 1980 Summer Olympic Games; (3) no American participation or attendance if the I.O.C. fails to adopt such proposal; (4) that other nations be encouraged to support the U.S. policy; and (5) the I.O.C. to consider the creation of permanent site for the Summer and Winter Olympic Games.[33]

A hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs discussed H. Con. Res. 249 on January 23, 1980. The 88-page document which came from the hearing was titled "U.S. Participation in the 1980 Summer Olympic Games" and included a variety of witnesses and other related materials.

The major witness to speak was U.S.O.C. President Robert Kane, who felt that the "U.S.O.C. was caught in the middle of the controversy - the athletes on one side wanting to participate in the Olympics and the government on the other hand who wants to boycott the Games." Kane also discussed the U.S.O.C. organization in general, its relationship with the I.O.C., its view on the Olympic boycott, relocating the Olympics, and resolutions being considered by Congress.

The other speaker was Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher who talked about an alternative site, responses of Moslem nations on the idea of a boycott, possibilities of a Soviet withdrawal of its troops, and the legal

authority that the President has on the U.S.O.C.[34]

Debate for H. Con. Res. 249 began in the House, January 24, 1980, with representatives taking both sides of the issue. Representative Stewart McKinney stated, "If I were running the show, we would have ceased all relationships with Russia, except conversation, because I feel that if keeping our athletes home from the Olympics is the strongest action we can take, then our credibility and effectiveness has truly faltered."

On the opposite side was Congressman William Gooding who remarked, "If we move in this way, I think we are really going to defeat what we are trying to do. I think we can successfully use the Olympics as a tool to do what we want to do in relationship with Russia, but we can only do that, if two things happen...the Olympics must have a different site and the Olympics must continue."[35]

The House passed the resolution the same day 368-12 and was sent over to the Senate.[36]

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held its hearing four days later to consider H. Con. Res. 249 and other related legislation. A variety of witnesses spoke on the boycott including Senators Bill Bradley, David Pryor, and Ted Stevens; Don Miller, U.S.O.C. executive director; Al Oerter and Anita DeFrantz, U.S. athletes; John Thompson, U.S. basketball coach; and Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

What made this report interesting to read were the 21 inserted prepared statements, articles, letters, telegrams, and resolutions which reflected both sides of the boycott issue.[37]

The Senate then debated the resolution on January 28 and 29, 1980, and passed it with an overwhelming 88-4 vote.[38] The press immediately picked up on this legislative action to show that the Congress was behind the President in demanding that the U.S. boycott the Olympic Games if Russia did not withdraw

from Afghanistan.

Once this debate had been decided, a House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce met to seek some alternatives to the Moscow Olympics.

In this brief 40-minute hearing, Don Miller, executive director of the U.S.O.C.; Al Oerter, U.S. athlete; Representative Jack Kemp; and several other governmental officials and sports enthusiasts gave their viewpoints on the topic. No action was decided on an alternative Olympics.[39]

Mohammed Ali's visit to Africa to lobby for the Moscow Olympic boycott was recorded in a hearing report concerning foreign assistance legislation for fiscal year 1980-81.

Included is a question-and-answer transcript for his press conference at Dar Es Salaam, meeting with Moslem leaders in Nairobi, remarks with Andrew Young at a Logas reception, exchange with a Pravda correspondent, and Ali's White House press conference.

It was interesting to read the transcript as Ali has a style of speaking that no one else possesses. He claimed he was not Carter's "whipping boy" but believed strongly that the boycott was necessary. This particular document gave more information on Ali's trip than any other source available.[40]

The Congressional Record is saturated with numerous one and two-minute addresses on the topic of the legislator's choice. Most of these comments were pro-boycott, but occassionally one would take the opposite side.

Representative Henry Hyde, for example, made an interesting remark concerning the U.S.O.C. tax-exempt status being threatened. Congressman Hyde was upset that the President would suddenly decide to renew the 28-year-old tax-exempt status of the U.S.O.C. should they not agree with him politically.

He also claimed that Sears, Roebuck and Co., withheld a $25,000 pledge to the U.S.O.C. after a session with presidential aide Anne Wexley. Fifteen other firms, presumably after similar meetings, withheld donations to the

U.S.O.C. totaling $175,000. He said, "Is it not wrong for the White House to coerce private companies or individuals not to give contributions to organizations permitted by law to receive them?"[41]

In another anti-boycott speech, Senator Stevens felt Congress should not go on record urging the I.O.C. to boycott Moscow. He believed the decisions should be up to the athletes and then if they go, let them and the press see how the Russians treat them and then report it to the people of the world.[42]

Of the more than thirty resolutions, action was taken on very few of them. Some of the more interesting ones which were suspended include:

H. Con. Res. 277 - February 11, 1980. Requires the U.S.O.C. to propose to the I.O.C. that all nations join in funding a facility in Greece to serve as the permanent site of the Summer Olympic Games.[43]

H. Con. Res. 325 - April 30, 1980. Expresses the sense of the Congress that the Postmaster General should distribute for purchase or use any existing postal material relating to the 1980 Summer Olympic Games provided that the word "boycott" is superimposed on such material.[44]

H. Res. 7433 - May 22, 1980. Directs the Secretary of the Treasury to pay claims for losses sustained by U.S. citizens or corporations as a result of the U.S. boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympic Games.[45]

H. Res. 7461 - May 29, 1980. Allows an individual under the Internal Revenue Code an income tax deduction equal to 50 percent of the travel deposit loss sustained by such taxpayer as a result of the 1980 Summer Olympic boycott. Limits the amount of such deduction to $12,500.[46]

Of the four resolutions, H. Con. Res. 325 had the most impact as the U.S. Postal Service eventually did stop selling its Olympic Games stamps. However, they did not superimpose the word "boycott" on the stamps as it was suggested. All four resolutions were suspended in various committees. The text to the

complete list of resolutions can be found in Appendix III.

In 1978, the Amateur Sports Act was passed (PL 95-606) by Congress in order to promote and coordinate amateur athletics in the U.S. Through enactment of PL 95-482, the Secretary of Commerce was authorized to grant funds to the U.S.O.C. for this purpose. This program gave the U.S.O.C. one Federal dollar for each two non-Federal dollars raised by the organization.

During a March 24, 1980, hearing on 1980 supplemental appropriations, Elsa Porter, assistant administrator of the Commerce Department explained that the $4 million budget request would be used by the U.S.O.C. to stimulate athletic participation with increased emphasis at the local level, to assist in the development of National Governing Bodies for each sport, and for the development of a sportsmedicine program. This hearing document also gave a complete financial breakdown of the proposed program.[47]

The following week, April 1, 1980, the Senate Committee on Appropriations in a hearing listened to arguments for and against government funding of the U.S.O.C. The "pro" witness was Joel Ferrill, vice-president of the U.S.O.C. while on the opposite side were Rick Bay of the U.S. Wrestling Federation and David Maggard of the National Collegiate Athletic Association.[48]

On the same day in the House Committee on Appropriations, Bay and Maggard gave opposition to the Commerce Department budget request for the U.S.O.C. Both men felt that "expenditures of taxpayers funds on behalf of the U.S.O.C. was not in the national interest."[49]

Congress received an amendment to a supplemental appropriations request from President Carter on May 9, 1980, for fiscal year 1980. Carter asked for $4 million to be made available immediately if the $8 million from non-Federal sources came in after May 15, 1980. The monies were to remain available until expended.[50]

The Senate Committee on Appropriations met again on May 14, 1980, and amended the $4 million appropriations to $10 million - a $6 million increase in the 1981 budget.[51]

One resolution which became a public law was introduced by Representative Frank Annunzio June 4, 1980. This resolution, H. R. 7482, "Authorized the President to present a gold-plated medal, on behalf of the Congress, to those athletes selected through the Olympic trial process to be members of the U.S. Summer Olympic team of 1980. It also directed the Secretary of the Treasury to strike 650 such medals with suitable emblems. It declared that such medals were national medals and that funds to carry out this act should be made available from funds currently appropriated for operations of the Bureau of the Mint. Finally, it directed such funds to be reimburesed from monies appropriated under the Amateur Sports Act of 1978."[52]

Before the measure was brought up to the House, there was a hearing before the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs, June 25, 1980. There had been several similar resolutions prior to H. R. 7482 but none had obtained the necessary 280 cosponsors needed for it to be considered by the Committee. After hearing testimonies of several former Olympic athletes and officials, the Committee voted 6-0 to send the measure on to the full committee.[53]

The bill was brought to the House on June 30, 1980 and passed the following day 386-28.[54] The Senate quickly brought it up July 8, 1980 and passed it without a vote being recorded.[55]

The President signed the bill into law the same day and designated it PL 96-3-6 so that the medals could be produced for the medal ceremony scheduled later that month.

OTHER GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS ON THE OLYMPIC BOYCOTT

An excellent source for material on the Olympic boycott can be found in the Department of State Bulletin. From February 1980 to August 1980, there were 23 interviews, statements, texts of speeches, and general articles on the boycott. Most of the articles were concerned with the State Department's handling of the Olympic crisis via Secretaries of State Cyrus Vance. and later, Edmund Muskie, and Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher. There were also a collection of articles from President Carter and the White House, all of these having been reproduced from the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents.

In the early stages of the boycott, Vance and Christopher gave very little insight on the boycott. In their interviews they basically repeated what Carter had said earlier to the press.[56]

Vance did give an inspiring speech to the I.O.C. meeting February 9, 1980. Speaking to the anti-boycott gathering, he plead the case for his government's opposition to holding the Summer Olympic Games in Moscow. "To hold the Olympics in any nation that is warring on another," he said, "is to lend the Olympic mantle to that nation's actions."[57]

When Muskie took over as the Secretary of State, he was more outspoken on the Olympic crisis than Vance was. In a May 20, 1980 interview, Muskie said he was disappointed that many of the European National Olympic Committees had decided to participate in the Olympic Games. He said that with 45 countries committed to join the boycott, "it surely means that this is not an Olympics. It is an athletic event, but it won't be an Olympics...it should be very clear to the Soviets, and to the I.O.C. that it somehow tarnishes the Olympic ideal."[58]

Muskie also gave his own viewpoint of the boycott in that the "invasion of Afghanistan was 180 degrees opposite of the Olympic ideal and that those who seek to promote the Olympic ideal ought to be interested in deterring and dissuading countries from engaging in that kind of adventurism."

The State Department came out with two analysis on May 24, 1980; one which evaluated the success of the Olympic boycott. It stated that one-half of the National Olympic Committees had decided not to send teams to Moscow (58 out of 116) while the decision of 17 additional committees was not known. It also said that even though some National Olympic Committees voted to go to Moscow, numerous sports federations in those nations followed the recommendations of their governments and were staying home.

Other figures on this "brag sheet" were that those national teams and sports federations not participating in Moscow won 73 percent (58 out of 80) of all the gold medals won at Montreal in 1976 by athltes from nations outside the Soviet bloc. For all medals - gold, silver, and bronze - the comparable percentage was 71 percent. Both of these sets of statistics seem irrelevant to use in evaluating an Olympic boycott.[59]

Secretary Muskie went to great depth into the boycott during an Afghanistan briefing. He said that "we could not join an Olympic Games - a festival of peace - in a country that was making an aggressive war."

He went on to say that even if the U.S. was the only country to withdraw, that would have been the proper decision. "You don't abandon your principles," he said, "just because not everyone will join you in upholding them. And the impact of our initial decision has been multiplied many times over by the similar judgement of other countries Olympic committees and individual sports federations."[60]

An address by Vice-President Mondale appeared in the State Department's Current Policy April 12, 1980. He appeared before the U.S.O.C. House of Delegates prior to their historic "boycott vote" and said, "History holds its breath, for what is at stake, is no less than the future security of the civilized world."

He touched all the crucial themes: the brutality of the Soviet invasion, the Soviet construing of attendance at the Games as approval of the U.S.S.R. foreign policy, and the wishes of the American public. "I am convinced that the American people do not want their athletes cast as pawns in that tawdry propaganda charade."

He drew parallels between the situation in 1936 and 1980, saying the call then for a boycott of Hitler's Games was rejected, "and the reasons for rejection are bone-chilling." They were, he said the same ones we were hearing again: that sports should not be dragged into politics, that a boycott would destroy the Olympic movement, and it would only penalize the American athletes.

The results in the 1936 Games, he said, was that Hitler scored a propaganda success, though international animosity toward him was a thing of the past, and "before long, the Nazi war machine scarred the face of Europe - and soon the night closed in."[61]

On March 28, 1980, President Carter made a statement on the prohibition of U.S. transactions with respect to the Olympic Games. This was made mandatory in what had been a voluntary ban on exports to the Soviet Union. The document appeared in the April 2, 1980 issue of the Federal Register.

These regulations established a validated licensing requirement for the export to the U.S.S.R. of goods or technology by any person in support of the Olympic Games and prohibits payments involving exports for the Games.

The volume of exports affected by the embargo was estimated at $20 to $30

million with the products ranging from chewing gum and soft drinks to soccer balls and landing pits for pole vaulters.[62]

The regulations were then collected and added to the Code of Federal Regulations. Listed under "Title 15 - Commercial and Foreign Trade"the embargo regulations are grouped under sections 371 - General Licenses, 374 - Technical Data, 385 - Special Country Policies, and 399 - Commodity Control and Related Matters.[63]

SUMMARY

The 1980 Olympic boycott was not only an important world event, but was also recorded in a number of government publications. In fact, there was more information printed on the boycott than any other sporting event in U.S. history.

Especially important were the statements made by President Carter. As the instigator of the U.S. boycott, Carter stood by his commitment to the very end. In fact, it almost became an obsession of his as he included remarks about the boycott in practically every speech he made.

It was also interesting to read the debates in the Congressional Record and the hearings because of the controversy of the event. The articles and editorials the congressmen provided were also very informative.

Not only were there materials from Congress and the President, but also from other branches of the government. It took an exceptionally long time to locate these documents, but was well worth the effort.

If one were to write a master's thesis or dissertation on the Olympic boycott, this paper would be an excellent place to begin researching the topic.

FOOTNOTES

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[3]Ibid, pp. 63-65.

[4]"Afgan President is Ousted and Executed in Kabul Coup, Reportedly With Soviet Help," New York Times, December 28, 1979, p. 1.

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[6]U.S., President, Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Printing Office, 1980), p. 106.

[7]Joseph Trester. "Canada's Leader Proposes Moving Olympics Out of Soviet Union," New York Times, January 12, 1980, p. 1 and R.W. Apple, "Mrs. Thatcher Says Britian Favors Switching Olympics," New York Times, January 18, 1980, p. 13.

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[12]Kenny Moore. "Stating Iron Realities," Sports Illustrated, March 31, 1980, p. 16.

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[17]Facts on File, 1980, p. 587.

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[19]Ibid, pp. 107-108.

[20]Ibid, pp. 106-107.

[21]Ibid, p. 196.

[22]Ibid, p. 383.

[23]Ibid, p. 353, 358, 439-440.

[24]Ibid, p. 521.

[25]Ibid, pp. 560-561.

[26]Ibid, p. 616.

[27]Ibid, p. 635.

[28]Ibid, pp. 747-748.

[29]Ibid, p, 869,

[30]Ibid, p. 966.

[31]Ibid, pp. 1315-1316.

[32]Ibid, p. 1442.

[33]U.S., Congress, Digest of Public Bills and Resolutions, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Printing Office, 1980), p. 808.

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APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGY OF THE 1980 OLYMPIC BOYCOTT

This list is a comprehensive schedule of events leading up and including the 1980 Olympic boycott. The chronology was compiled from the New York Times, Facts on File, Sports Illustrated, Time, Newsweek, etc.

December 27, 1979

President Hafizullah Amin of Afghanistan is overthrown and executed in a coup engineered by the U.S.S.R. Soviet troops continue to cross into Afghanistan to put down a long-standing Muslim revolt.

December 30, 1979

The idea of a boycott was first discussed in Brussels at a North Atlantic Treaty Organization meeting with most of the nations reluctant to approve a resolution.

I.O.C. President Lord Killanin declares that "the athletes come first, and in no way should be prevented from competing in international competition by polticaly, racial, or religious discrimination."

January 2, 1980

Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov called for an international boycott of the Moscow Olympics. He was arrested for this "outburst"and was exiled to Siberia.

January 4, 1980

In a nationwide television address, President Jimmy Carter said the U.S. would consider boycotting the 1980 Olympic Games if the Soviet Union continuted its "aggressive action."

January 6, 1980

Saudi Arabia was the first country to boycott the Olympics because of the Soviet invasion.

January 7, 1980

The U.S.O.C. executive board voted to resist political intrusion in the Olympic Games and decried the idea of the American boycott.

January 10, 1980

Vice-President Walter Mondale, speaking in Iowa, suggested that the Olympic Games be moved out of Moscow because the Soviets had "committed an outrageous and indecent act of aggression."

January 14, 1980

Lord Killanin states, "It would be physically impossible to move the Olympics from Moscow at this stage."

In a statement, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance warns the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan by mid-February or face an American boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games.

January 16, 1980

The Carter Administration said it was exploring possibilities of seeking international support for a "Free World Olympics" as a substitute for the Olympics in Moscow.

January 17, 1980

Speaking before the House of Commons, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher announces that the Cabinet will seek a change of venue for the Games.

January 18, 1980

The Muhammad Ali Amateur Sports Club was the first American organization to say it was not participating in the Moscow Olympics. Team members featured several world-class track athletes.

Talks begin between White House officials and U.S.O.C. officials in Washington.

Greek Premier Constantine Caramonlis promised to resubmit proposal to the I.O.C. to have the Summer Games permanently held in his country.

January 19, 1980

The Republican National Committee approved a resolution urging the U.S.O.C. to boycott the Moscow Olympics.

January 20, 1980

On "Meet the Press" President Carter proposed the 1980 Summer Olympics be removed from the Soviet Union, postponsed, or cancelled unless Russia withdraws its troops from Afghanistan within one month.

Carter also sent a letter to the U.S.O.C. saying that if the U.S.S.R. failed to remove its troops, he was calling for an international boycott of the Olympics. He strongly asked the U.S.O.C. for its cooperation.

White House Press Secretary Jody Powell read to reporters excerpts from a handbook for Soviet Communist Party activists (1980) which said that the awarding of the Olympics to Moscow was a recognition of the Soviet Union's struggle for world peace.

Soviet Union sports publication Sovetsky Sport said that the U.S.S.R. would send a team to the 1980 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, New York, regardless of what measures the Americans took concerning the Moscow Olympics.

The National Broadcasting Company claims it could lose as much as $20 million if the U.S. were to boycott the Olympics. It had already paid $85 million for exclusing rights to broadcast the Olympics to the U.S.

January 21, 1980

France becomes the first Western nation to categorically reject the notion of an Olympic boycott while several nations were taking a "wait and see" position. Those nations supporting the boycott were Canada, Great Britian, Australia, Israel, Austria, Belgiu, and Japan.

The State Department discloses that the Carter administration had sent appeals to more than 100 heads of state for support in moving the Olympics from Moscow.

January 22, 1980

Mrs. Thatcher offered her nation as an alternative site for the 1980 Olympics. Government sources indicate they were willing to finance the move although the full costs had not been estimated.

New Zealand expressed support for shifting the site of the Olympics.

January 23, 1980

In a firm "State of the Union" address, President Carter discussed the U.S. boycott. He said, "I have notified the U.S.O.C. that the Soviet invading forces in Afghanistan, neither the American people nor I will support sending an Olympic team to Moscow."

The House of Representatives passed a resolution (386-12) in favor of a nonbinding resolution backing Carter's stand.

January 25, 1980

U.S. Attorney Benjamin Civiletti said the Justice Department was studying ways to legally enforcing an Olympic boycott.

January 26, 1980

The U.S.O.C. executive board voted unamiously to ask the I.O.C. to move, postpone, or cancel the 1980 Summer Olympics. The resolution supported President Carter's Olympic stand but did not mention his February 20th time limit for withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Action was also deferred on the President's proposal that the American athletes boycott the Games if Russia fails to meet the time limit. The U.S.O.C. was to present the resolution to the I.O.C. in February. The committee also said it would continue to select and prepare athletes for the Olympics until May 24, 1980 when it had to formally announce its entry.

Canada's Prime Minister Joe Clark supports a boycott. On January 11, he had announced restrictions on trade, scientific, cultural, and sports exchanges with the U.S.S.R., and launched a campaign to move the Games from Moscow, possibly to Montreal.

January 28, 1980

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee unamiously approved a resolution calling for relocation, postponement, or cancellation of the Olympics if Soviet troops are not withdrawn from Afghanistan by mid-February.

An I.O.C. source says that barring a world war or natural disaster, the Games will stay in Moscow. The source asserts that transferring the Games would be against I.O.C. rules and that postponing them would be "absolutely impossible."

January 29, 1980

The Senate passed a resolution (88-4) backing President Carter's boycott stand.

At the conclusion of an emergency meeting of The Conference of Islamic States in Pakistan, the foreign ministers of 36 Muslim nations issued a statement denouncing "the Soviet military aggression against the Afghan people" and support a boycott of the Olympics unless the U.S.S.R. removes its troops.

January 31, 1980

The Department of State confirmed a report that President Carter had asked Muhammad Ali, former world heavyweight boxing champ, to visit several African nations to enlist support for the President's Olympic stand.

February 1, 1980

Japan and the People's Republic of China both indicate they would not participate in the Olympics because of the Soviet action.

February 2, 1980

State Department figures show 17 nations have taken a public stand against participation in the Moscow Games. New supporting countries were Kenya, Chile, Norway, Egypt, Burma, and Djibouti.

February 3, 1980

Muhammed Ali was rebuffed by the Tanzania government when he visited that nation to enlist its support for the U.S. Olympic boycott.

February 5, 1980

The Association of National Olympic Committees urged the I.O.C. to resist any effort to change the site of the 1980 Olympic Games.

February 6, 1980

At a European Communicy meeting in Brussels, representatives from France and West Germany indicated they might not oppose the Olympic boycott. Previously both governments had opposed a boycott.

February 7, 1980

Soviet officials urged Western European countries to resist U.S. pressure for counter measures in response to the Olympic boycott.

February 8, 1980

U.S.O.C. President Kane formally asks the I.O.C.'s executive board to postpone or move the Summer Olympics from Moscow.

February 9, 1980

Secretary Vance spoke to the U.S.O.C. executive board and said the U.S. was firm on an Olympic boycott, unless the Soviets gave proof of an Afghanistan withdrawl.

February 10, 1980

West Germany affirmed its support of the U.S. boycott while French and American officials attempted to minimize their differences.

February 12, 1980

The I.O.C. announced the 1980 Summer Olympics would take place in Moscow as scheduled. They rejected the U.S.O.C. proposal to have the Games moved, postponed, or cancelled because of the Soviet invasion. Lord Killanin called for both sides to resolve the dispute.

President Carter expressed regrets of the I.O.C. decision and said the U.S. would lead the Olympic boycott. He also stressed that the U.S. would not soften its demands and told the U.S.O.C. to reach a prompt decision against sending a team to the Games. Finally, he invited other governments to consider alternative games.

February 13, 1980

In his first televised news conference in 11 weeks, President Carter remained firm on the Olympic boycott and his February 20th deadline.

February 14, 1980

In a prepared statement, the U.S.O.C. said it would "accept any decision...the President makes" on not sending an American team to Moscow. The decision would be legally made at the U.S.O.C. House of Delegates meeting April 12 in Colorado Springs.

February 17, 1980

Communist Party leader Enrico Berlunginer of Italy criticized the Soviets for their invasion, calling it a serious blow to dentente. He also claimed the U.S. was threatening dentente for supporting military regimes in Latin America and proposed to boycott the Olympic Games.

February 19, 1980

Ministers of the European Community met and did not come out in favor of boycotting the Olympics. France was the only nation to refuse to endorse the boycott and the issue was left out of the final statement.

Pierre Trudeau was elected Prime Minister of Canada and said he would support the boycott "only if there was a mass participation of non-Western countries." His predecessor Joe Clark was a leading spokesman for a boycott of the Games.

February 20, 1980

This was the deadline that President Carter had given the Russians to withdraw from Afghanistan or the boycott would take place. No action was taken by the Soviets.

February 21, 1980

Vice-President Mondale said the U.S. expects to announce shortly a site for alternative Olympics, but U.S.O.C. President Kane said he believed the administration's boycott decision was not irrevocable.

February 25, 1980

At a White House ceremony for the U.S. Winter Olympic athletes, Eric Heiden, gold medal winner, presented to President Carter a petition from the athletes opposing a boycott.

March 3, 1980

Representatives of the U.S.O.C.'s Athletes Advisory Council visit the White House to discuss a counterproposal, under which they would compete in the Games but register their protest by refusing to participate in the opening, closing, and medal ceremonies.

March 5, 1980

West German Chancellor Helmus Schmidt and President Carter issue a joint communique in favor of the boycott.

March 11, 1980

The U.S. Postal Service halted the sale of stamps and postcards commemorating the Moscow Games. Over 67 million 10-cent post cards, 47.2 million 31-cent air mail stamps, and 187.6 million 15-cent commerative stamps have been affected. Also included in the suspension were 2.5 million 21-cent post cards, 4 million aerogrammes, and 8.5 million embossed envelopes.

March 12, 1980

President Carter asked U.S. companies not to send their products to Moscow for the Olympics. This voluntary ban affects 30 companies which planned to send $20 to 30 million worth of products.

March 18, 1980

A 12-nation delegation, including the U.S., Great Britian, and Australia, announced they had agreed to go ahead with plans to hold a world sports festival for athletes who boycott the 1980 Summer Olympics.

March 21, 1980

President Carter told members of the Athletes Advisory Council of the U.S.O.C. that his decision to send a U.S. contingent to the 1980 Olympic Games was irreversible. He summoned the athletes to enlist their support for the boycott.

Coca-Cola Co. said it would not ship any more Coca-Cola concentrate to the Soviet Union.

March 22, 1980

Representatives of Olympic Committees in 16 European nations met in Brussels and voted against a boycott of the Moscow Games. Delegates from Sweden, Finland, France, Italy, Ireland, Belgium, Spain, and Great Britian indicated that their athletes would participate in the Olympics, even if their governments joined the U.S. boycott. Representatives of other European Olympic Committees said they would wait to see what position their governments took on the boycott issue before making a final decision.

March 25, 1980

The British Olympic Committee voted to participate in the 1980 Summer Olympics. This move defied the stand taken by Margaret Thatcher, the most outspoken ally of the U.S. effort to boycott the Games.

March 28, 1980

President Carter ordered the Commerce Department to prohibit exports to the Soviet Union of any good or technology related to the Olympic Games. It was reported that the major U.S. coporations had asked Carter to make the voluntary embargo mandatory to protect them from possible legal action by the Soviets.

The Philippines said they would not participate in the Olympic Games.

March 30, 1980

The Canadian Olympic Committee voted to go to the Moscow Olympics. Prime Minister Trudeau had been lukewarm in his response to the boycott.

The Norwegian Olympic Committee, another earlier supporter of the boycott, voted to go to the Moscow Games.

April 3, 1980

Sears, Roebuck and Co. threatened to withhold a $25,000 pledge to the U.S.O.C. unless the organization agreed to boycott the Olympics. The money was the

last installment of $75,000 pledged to the U.S.O.C. by Sears. The U.S.O.C. executive director called the move "sheer blackmail."

April 4, 1980

State Department spokesman Hodding Carter assails the Soviet Union for launching a major campaign "to prevent a worldwide boycott of the Moscow Olympics."

April 10, 1980

President Carter reasserts his position to a newspaper editors conference. On April 9, the editors had sent a letter to Carter protesting his recent order prohibiting transactions with the Russians connected with the Olympics.

April 11, 1980

Iran reported it would not send a team to the Olympics.

April 12, 1980

The U.S.O.C. House of Delegates voted 1,604 to 779 in favor of a resolution to boycott the 1980 Olympic Games. Vice-President Mondale spoke prior to the vote on the need to condem the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The White House lauded the U.S.O.C. boycott decision while the athletes suggested they might sue the U.S.O.C. and federal government. Julian Roosevelt, an American on the I.O.C. said the decision was "disasterous" and that the I.O.C. might retaliate by taking the 1984 Olympic Games away from Los Angeles while N.B.C. said they were going to look for alternative measures. West Germany, Japan, Australia, and Canada supported the resolution while the Soviets attacked the U.S.O.C. for "surrendering the interests of the athletes in favor of unprecedented pressure and blackmail by the Carter Administration."

April 17, 1980

East Germany joined the Soviet Union in an endeavor to dissuade West Germany from supporting the Olympic boycott. However, West Germany was not convinced.

April 21-22, 1980

The I.O.C. met to find ways to circumvent the Moscow boycott. The committee voted to allow teams an option of using or not their national flags or anthems in Olympic ceremonies. They also allowed nations to not participate in opening and closing ceremonies if so desired and to offer aid to countries who wished to send athletes to Moscow but was under political and/or financial pressure from their governments. These measures were and attempt by the I.O.C. to defuse the political issues surrounding the Moscow Olympics. Lord Killilan invited President Carter and Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev to meet with him to discuss means of avoiding a boycott and "save the Olympic ideals."

April 22, 1980

The Gambia Olympic Committee voted to boycott the Olympics "unless there was a significant change in the situation in Afghanistan before May 24."

April 23, 1980

A [illegible]s action suit was filed in the U.S. District Court in Washington asking the court to overturn the decision by the U.S.O.C. to boycott the Olympics. The suit was brought on by 18 amateur athletes, a coach, and a member of the U.S.O.C. executive board.

April 24, 1980

The Chinese Olympic Committee voted to boycott the Moscow Olympics.

May 2, 1980

Liechtenstein cancelled a special Olympic stamp as a condemnation of the Soviet invasion. The tiny principality derived eight percent of its budget from the sale of the stamp.

Bolivia said it would not send a team to Moscow.

May 3, 1980

Singapore joined the group of boycotting nations.

May 6, 1980

N.B.C. revealed it would not televise the 1980 Summer Games to the U.S. The decision cost the network about $22 million. Insurance covered 90 percent of N.B.C.'s payment to the U.S.S.R. and I.O.C. leaving the network with a $7 million loss. There were also losses of $15 million on personnel and travel expense and $15 million on advertising revenue.

May 7, 1980

I.O.C. President Killalin met with Soviet President Brezhnev in Moscow to discuss ways to depoliticize the Summer Olympics. Observers noted Brezhnev's approval to deemphasize nationalism on Olympic ceremonies indicated that the Soviets were worried about widespread boycott and were willing to take steps to counteract it.

May 8, 1980

The New Zealand and Peru Olympic Committees both voted to compete in the Summer Olympics while Argentina decided not to participate.

May 10, 1980

The Swiss Olympic Committee voted 24-22 (with two abstentions) to attend the Moscow Olympics. The committee left it up to individual athletes and sport federations if they wanted to compete.

May 13, 1980

The French Olympic Committee voted 22-0 to accept an ivitation to the Summer Oympics.

May 15, 1980

I.O.C. President Lord Killilan met with President Carter in Washington. Carter told Killilan that the decision not to send American athletes to Moscow was final. He also vowed to keep pressuring other nations to join the boycott. Killilan said the Summer Olympics would be held in Moscow in July no matter how many nations stayed away.

May 16, 1980

The lawsuit brought against the U.S.O.C. was dismissed as the judge upheld the U.S.O.C. authority under the Amateur Sports Act of 1978.

May 17, 1980

Individual British athletes said they were going to boycott the Olympics even though the British Olympic Committee had voted to take part in the 1980 Games.

May 19, 1980

Killalin rejects a reelection bid for president saying, "If the present situation over the boycott had not occurred, I might have stayed on."

Burma's Olympic Committee said it would not send a team to the Olympics.

May 20, 1980

The Italian Olympic Committee voted 29-3 to defy the wishes of the government and compete in Moscow. A day earlier the Italian government warned the committee that athletes attending the Olympic Games would be denied the use of the Italian flag or national anthem.

Olympic committees from the countries of Austria, Belgium, Ireland, Netherlands, and Sweden voted to go to the Moscow Games.

May 22, 1980

The Isreal Olympic Committee voted 17-8 to boycott the Summer Games.

May 23, 1980

The U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the dismissal of a suit against the U.S.O.C. The suit challenged the power of the U.S.O.C. to mould an Olympic boycott.

The Turkey Olympic Committee joined in its government's wishes and voted to boycott the Olympic Games.

The Spanish Olympic Committee voted 18-11 to accept an invitation despite the fact the government had endorsed the boycott the day before.

The Australian Olympic Committee voted 6-5 to accept an invitation to the Games despite pressure from the government to boycott. Several of the athletes said, however, they plan to have their own boycott.

May 24, 1980

The Japanese Olympic Committee voted 29-13 to boycott the Summer Olympics. The vote came after a report the government was going to revoke the passports of Japanese athletes unless they followed the boycott.

Uganda announced a reversal of an earlier decision to send athletes to Moscow.

May 25, 1980

Jordan reverses its pro-boycott stand.

May 27, 1980

The I.O.C. claimed that 85 nations would compete in the 1980 Summer Olympics. Besides the 85 entries, 29 other countries rejected the invitation and 27 did not respond. This list was based on the invitations received by the May 24 deadline. The deadline, however, was extended by the I.O.C. Both the U.S. and Soviets claimed victory for their side.

June 20, 1980

Seven members of the Afghanistan national basketball team scheduled to play in the Olympics defected to Pakistan in protest of the Soviet invasion of their homeland. Several other Afghan athletes - members of the national soccer team- had defected in May for similar reasons.

June 24, 1980

A five-man Puerto Rico boxing delegation arrived in Moscow in apparent defiance of the U.S. boycott. The U.S. government did not take any steps to prevent the delegation from going to the Games.

July 18, 1980

Lord Killalin criticized the Olympic boycott and accused the Carter Administration of being ignorant on matters of international sports.

July 19, 1980

The 1980 Summer Olympics opened in Moscow with 16 nations refusing to carry their national flags in the opening ceremony as a token protest of the Afghanistan situation. Several of the nations were represented in the parade by officials, but no athletes. Also, during several of the medal ceremonies, Olympic flags were used instead of national flags as a protest.

July 26-30, 1980

The U.S. Olympic team was saluted in Washington and culminated in a medal ceremony on the Capitol steps. Over 400 athletes, coaches, and managers were presented with congressional gold medals. Later, the athletes visited the White House.

August 8, 1980

During the closing ceremoney no U.S. flag was raised. Usually the flag of the next Olympic site (1984 is in Los Angeles] is raised, however, the U.S. protested the use of the flag to the I.O.C. and they approved a proposal to use the City of Los Angeles flag and the Olympic anthem rather than the "Star Spangled Banner."

In the final tally, 81 countries took part in the Moscow Games while 65 nations did not. The boycott reduced the number of athletes from 10,000 to 6,000 and foreign tourists from 300,000 to 100,000.

APPENDIX II

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS *

January 4, 1980 p. 21

Carter - Addresses the nation on the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

January 20, 1980 pp. 106-107

Carter - letter to U.S.O.C. president on his proposal of an Olympic Games boycott.

January 20, 1980 pp. 107-108

Carter - "Meet the Press" where he tells about his boycott plans.

January 23, 1980 p. 196

Carter - "State of the Union" address.

February 1, 1980 pp. 259-260

Carter - remarks at National Conference on Physical Fitness and Sports.

February 12, 1980 pp. 305-306

Statement on the I.O.C. decision to hold Games in Moscow.

February 13, 1980 pp. 311-312

Carter - news conference of February 13, 1980.

February 19, 1980 p. 346

Carter - remarks at the American Legion annual conference.

February 20, 1980 p. 353

Carter - remarks to President Moi of Kenya at welcoming ceremony.

February 20, 1980 p. 356

Statement on U.S. withdrawal from the Olympic Games to be held in Moscow.

February 20, 1980 p. 358

Carter - toast at state dinner for President Moi of Kenya.

February 25, 1980 pp. 380-381

Carter - remarks at the welcoming ceremony for the 1980 U.S. Olympic Winter Team.

February 25, 1980 p. 383

Carter - remarks at Order of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association.

February 25, 1980 p. 388

Carter - remarks and question-and-answer session with editors and news directors.

March 5, 1980 pp. 439-440

Carter - joint press statement with Chancellor Schmidt of West Germany.

March 21, 1980 pp. 517-521

Carter - remarks to representatives of U.S. athletic teams.

March 28, 1980 pp. 559-560

Memorandum on prohibition of U.S. transaction with respect to the Olympic Games.

March 28, 1980 pp. 560-561

Statement on prohibition of U.S. transaction with respect to the Olympic Games.

April 5, 1980 p. 616

Carter - mailgram to U.S.O.C. president.

April 10, 1980 pp. 635-636

Carter - remarks and question-and-answer session at American Society of Newspaper Editors.

April 11, 1980 pp. 663-664

Carter - remarks and question-and-answer session with editors and broadcasters.

April 12, 1980 p. 668

Statement by White House on vote by U.S.O.C.

April 12, 1980 pp. 675-678

Carter - remarks and question-and-answer session with foreign correspondents.

April 17, 1980 pp. 712-713

Carter - news conference of April 17, 1980.

April 19, 1980 p. 747

Carter - question-and-answer session with reporters from Pennsylvania.

April 29, 1980 p. 796

Carter - news conference of April 29, 1980

April 30, 1980 p. 804

Carter - remarks and question-and-answer session with civic and community leaders.

May 9, 1980 p. 869

White House announcement of budget amendment to raise funds for U.S.O.C.

May 9, 1980 p. 895

Carter - remarks and question-and-answer session in town meeting in Philadelphia.

May 15, 1980 p. 922

White House statement of meeting with Carter and I.O.C. president.

May 16, 1980 p. 930

White House statement on West Germany's decision to boycott the Olympic Games.

May 23, 1980 p. 966

Announcement of meeting on U.S.O.C. fund-raising drive.

May 28, 1980 pp. 989-990

Carter - remarks and question-and-answer session with Newhouse newspaper editors.

June 12, 1980 p. 1103

Carter - question-and-answer session with foreign correspondents.

June 22, 1980 pp. 1173-1174

Carter - exchange with reporters at Venice Economic Summit Conference.

June 23, 1980 p. 1193

Carter - exchange with reporters at Venice Economic Summit Conference.

July 4, 1980 pp. 1308, 1315-1316

Carter - remarks and question-and-answer session at town meeting at Merced, California.

July 29, 1980 p. 1435

Carter - remarks at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

July 30, 1980 p. 1337

Act approved by Carter (PL 96-306) for gold-plated medals to be given to the U.S. Olympic Team.

July 30, 1980 pp. 1440-1442

Carter - remarks at medal presentation ceremony to members of the U.S. Olympic Summer Team.

July 31, 1980 p. 1444

Carter - remarks at a White House reception to members of the U.S. Olympic Team.

August 5, 1980 pp. 1493-1494

Carter - remarks at a medal presentation ceremony to members of the U.S. Olympic Team.

August 14, 1980 p. 1530

Carter - remarks at the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Victory Luncheon.

August 14, 1980 p. 1535

Carter - remarks and question-and-answer session when accepting the presidential nomination at the 1980 Democratic Convention

September 15, 1980 pp. 1727-1728

Carter - remarks and question-and-answer session at a town meeting at Corpus Christi, Texas.

October 20, 1980 p. 2352

Carter - remarks and a question-and-answer session during a live television broadcast at Youngstown, Ohio.

* The complete list ia a collection of speeches, letters, remarks and statements made by President Carter and the executive branch of government on the 1980 Olympic Games boycott.

APPENDIX III

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO THE OLYMPIC BOYCOTT

H. Con. Res. 239 Rep. Ritter, et al.; 1/17/80

Urges the President to take the following measures to counter Soviet aggression in Afghanistan: (1) ban the export of grain and high technology to the Soviet Union; (2) negotiate with other nations to halt all grain exports to the Soviet Union; (3) ban loans and credits to the Soviet Union and negotiate with other countries to do the same; (4) withdraw from participation in the 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow and encourage other nations to seek the relocation of such games; and (5) declare travel by U.S. citizens in the Soviet Union hazardous. Directs the President to report to Congress concerning such measures.

H. Con. Res. 240 Rep. Buchanan; 1/17/80

Condems the Soviet Union for its aggression and continued presence in Afghanistan. Calls upon the President to express U.S. concern over such aggression. Urges the I.O.C. and U.S.O.C. to seek an alternative site for the 1980 Summer Olympic Games.

H. Con. Res. 242 Rep. Dodd; 1/22/80

Urges the I.O.C. to transfer or postpone the 1980 Summer Olympic Games until Soviet troops are withdrawn from Afghanistan. Expresses the sense of Congress that: (1) the U.S. and other nations should not participate in such games, if the I.O.C. does not transfer the games; and (2) the I.O.C. should establish permanent sites for the Olympic Games.

H. Con. Res. 244 Rep. Dornan, et al.; 1/22/80

Expresses the sense of Congress that; (1) the I.O.C. should relocate the 1980 Summer Olympics; (2) the U.S.O.C. should boycott such games, if the I.O.C. refuses to relocate such games; and (3) the U.S.O.C. with the I.O.C. should investigate the feasibility of a permanent site for the Olympic Games.

H. Con. Res. 245 Rep. Luken, et al.; 1/22/80

Expresses the sense of Congress that; (1) the I.O.C. should withdraw the 1980 Summer Olympic Games from the Soviet Union; and (2) there should be a boycott of such games, if they are not withdrawn and Soviet troops have not been withdrawn from Afghanistan.

H. Con. Res. 246 Rep. Miller, et al.; 1/22/80

Expresses the sense of Congress that the President should call upon the I.O.C. to relocate the 1980 Summer Olympic Games outside of the Soviet Union.

H. Con. Res. 247 Rep. Quayles; 1/22/80

Expresses the sense of Congress: (1) that the I.O.C. should relocate the 1980 Summer Olympic Games, if Soviet troops are not withdrawn from Afghanistan; (2) that the U.S. should withdraw from such games if they are not relocated; and (3) that the I.O.C. should take action to establish a permanent site for future Olympic Games in Greece.

H. Con. Res. 249 Rep. Zablocki, et al.; 1/22/80

Urges: (1) the U.S.O.C. to propose the transfer or cancellation of the 1980 Summer Olympic Games; (2) the I.O.C. to adopt such proposal; and (3) the U.S.O.C. and other nations' Olympic committees to not participate in such summer games, if the I.O.C. rejects such proposal, and conduct alternative games.

H. Con. Res. 250 Rep. Albosta; 1/23/80

Expresses the sense of Congress to support the President's stand against Soviet aggression in Afghanistan by witholding U.S. participation in the 1980 Summer Olympic Games.

H. Con. Res. 251 Rep. Albosta, et al.; 1/23/80

Expresses the sense of Congress to condemn Soviet actions taken against Andrei Sakharov which further show the lack of the Soviet Union's fitness to host the Olympics.

H. Con. Res. 254 Rep. Rousselot; 1/23/80

Expresses the sense of Congress that the President should call upon the I.O.C. to relocate the 1980 Summer Olympic Games outside of the Soviet Union.

H. Con. Res. 255 Rep. Schroeder; 1/23/80

Expresses the sense of Congress that (1) 1980 Summer Olympic Games should be relocated; (2) if not, the U.S. should withdraw from competition; and (3) the I.O.C. should select permanent sites for the Summer and Winter Olympic Games.

H. Con. Res. 256 Rep. Courter, et al.; 1/24/80

Expresses the sense of Congress that: (1) the I.O.C. should relocate the 1980 Summer Olympic Games; (2) the U.S.O.C. and U.S. athletes should urge such a relocation; (3) the U.S. should support financially such relocation; (4) if such games are not relocated, the possibility of alternative games should be explored; and (5) the I.O.C. should explore the possibility of establishing a permanent site for such games.

H. Con. Res. 258 Expresses the sense of the Congress that if the U.S. does not participate in the 1980 Summer Olympic Games, the Presidential Medal of Freedom should be awarded to each member of the U.S. Summer Olympic team.

H. Con. Res. 277 Rep. Bonier, et al.; 2/11/80

Requests the U.S.O.C. to propose to the I.O.C. that all nations join in funding a facility in Greece to serve as the permanent site of the Summer Olympic Games.

H. Con. Res. 305 Rep. Jacobs; 3/19/80

Expresses the sense of Congress that no U.S. citizen should attend or participate in the 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow.

H. Con. Res. 325 Rep. Guarini, et al.; 4/30/80

Expresses the sense of the Congress that the Postmaster General should distribute for purchase or use any existing postal material relating to the 1980 Summer Olympic Games, provided the word "boycott" is superimposed on such material.

H. Res. 524 Rep. Hubbard; 1/22/80

Expresses the sense of the House of Representatives that; (1) the U.S. should not participate in the 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow; and (2) the President and the U.S.O.C. should recommend alternate sites for such games.

H. Res. 526 Rep. Peyset, et al.; 1/22/80

Declares that the U.S.O.C. and athletes ought not to participate in any international sports competition held in the Soviet Union, including the 1980 Summer Olympics, unless Soviet troops are withdrawn from Afghanistan by February 20, 1980.

H. Res. 534 Rep. Bolling; 1/24/80

Urges; (1) the U.S.O.C. to propose the transfer or cancellation of the 1980 Summer Olympic Games; (2) the I.O.C. to adopt such proposal; and (3) the U.S.O.C. and other nations' Olympic committees to not participate in such summer games, if the I.O.C. rejects such proposal, and conduct alternative games.

H. Res. 547 Rep. Oakar, et al.; 1/29/80

Expresses the sense of the House of Representatives that athletic games should be held in the U.S. for American and foreign athletes, if the U.S. does not participate in the 1980 Summer Olympic Games.

H. Res. 555 Rep. Oakar; 1/31/80

Expresses the sense of the House of Representatives that athletic games should be held in the U.S. for American and foreign athletes if the U.S. does not participate in the 1980 Summer Olympic Games.

H.R. 6603 Rep. Vento, et al.; 2/25/80

Authorizes the President to present, on behalf of the Congress, a specially struck gold medal to the Smithsonian Institution in recognition of the athletes who have prepared for the 1980 Summer Olympics and who will sacrifice their personal goals in furtherance of U.S. foreign policy. Authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to cause duplicates of such medal in bronze for sale to the general public.

H. R. 7329 Rep. Sawyer, et al.; 5/12/80

Authorizes and requests the President to present, on behalf of the Congress, a national medal to each athlete selected to be a member of the 1980 U.S. Olympic Team to the Olympic Games. Directs the Secretary of the Treasury to cause to be struck such medals in bronze with gold plating, and with such emblems as shall be determined by the Secretary in consultation with the U.S.O.C. Authorizes the Secretary to strike duplicates and replicas of such medal in bronze for sale to the general public.

H.R. 7433 Rep. McKay, et. al.; 5/22/80

Directs the Secretary of the Treasury to pay claims for losses sustained by U.S. citizens or corporations as a result of the U.S. boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympic Games.

H.R. 7461 Rep. Frost, et. al.; 5/29/80

Allows an individual under the Internal Revenue Code an income tax deduction equal to 50 percent of the travel deposit loss sustained by such taxpayer as a result of the 1980 Summer Olympic boycott. Limits the amount of such deduction to $2,500.

H.R. 7482 Rep. Annunizio, et al.; 6/4/80

Authorizes the President to present a gold-plated medal, on behalf of the Congress, to those Athletes selected through the Olympic trial process to be members of the U.S. Olympic team of 1980. Directs the Secretary of the Treasury to cause to be struck 650 such medals with suitable emblems. Declares that such medals are national medals and that funds to carry out this Act should be made available under the Amateur Sports Act of 1978.

H.R. 7629 Rep. Williams; 6/19/80

Authorizes the President to present a gold-plated medal, on behalf of the Congress, to those athletes selected through the Olympic trial process to be members of the U.S. Olympic team of 1980. Directs the Secretary of the Treasury to cause to be struck 650 such medals with suitable emblems and the inscription "First in Patriotism". Declares that such medals are national medals and that funds to carry out this Act should be made available under the Amateur Sports Act of 1978.

H. J. R. 473 Rep. Bauman, et al.; 1/17/80

Requests the President to ask the I.O.C. to transfer the 1980 Summer Olympic Games from the Soviet Union. Directs the President to: (1) ask the U.S.O.C. to boycott such games if they are not transferred; (2) encourage other free nations to do the same, and (3) assist in the organization of a "Free World Olympics".

S. Con. Res. 64 Sen. Weicker; 1/22/80

Expresses the sense of Congress that (1) the U.S. should not participate in the 1980 Summer Olympics, unless Soviet troops are withdrawn from Afghanistan, and (2) further economic restrictions against the Soviet Union should be imposed, including an embargo of exports from the U.S.

S. Con. Res. 66 Sen. Cannon; 1/24/80

Urges: (1) the U.S.O.C. to propose the transfer or cancellation of the 1980 Summer Olympic Games; (2) the I.O.C. to adopt such proposal; and (3) the U.S.O.C. and other nations' Olympic committees to not participate in such summer games, if the I.O.C. rejects such proposal, and conduct alternative games.

S. Con. Res. 68 Sen. Heflin, et al.; 1/24/80

Urges (1) the Congress to encourage the I.O.C. to relocate the 1980 Summer Olympic Games, (2) that if such games are not relocated, all peace-loving nations be invoted to participate in a World Peace Olympiad for the year 1980; and (3) that the U.S.O.C. work with foreign committees to select a site for such Olympaid.

S. Con. Res. 70 Sen. Church, et al.; 1/28/80

Urges: (1) public support for the U.S.O.C. and athletes; (2) the I.O.C. to accede to the U.S.O.C.'s proposal to transfer, postpone, or cancel the 1980 Summer Olympic Games; (3) no American participation or attendance if the I.O.C. fails to adopt such proposal; (4) that other nations be encouraged to support the U.S. policy; and (5) the I.O.C. consider the creation of permanent sites for the Summer and Winter Olympic Games.

S. Res. 333 Sen. Pryor, et al.; 1/22/80

Expresses the sense of the Senate that (1) the U.S.O.C. should petition the I.O.C. to relocate the 1980 Summer Games, and (2) the U.S. should not participate if such games are not relocated.

S. Res. 334 Sen. Muskie, et al.; 1/22/80

Expresses the sense of the Senate that if Soviet troops are not withdrawn from Afghanistan within 30 days, the President should (1) seek U.S. withdrawal from 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow; (2) encourage other nations to withdraw from such games, and (3) encourage the relocation of such games.

S. 2724 Sen. Hart, et al.; 5/21/80

Authorizes the President to present a gold-plated medal, on behalf of the Congress, to those athletes selected through the Olympic trial process to be members of the U.S. Olympic team of 1980. Directs the Secretary of the Treasury to cause to be struck 650 such medals with suitable emblems. Declares that such medals are national medals and that funds to carry out this Act shall be made available under the Amateur Sports Act of 1978.

1981 CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTIONS

H. Con. Res. 168 Rep. Bonier, et al.; 7/31/81

Expresses the sense of the Congress that the U.S.O.C. should propose that a plan be developed to find the construction and maintenance of a permanent site in Greece for the Summer Olympics.

H. Con. Res. 188 Rep. LeBoutiller; 9/22/81

Expresses the sense of Congress that the National Hockey League and American Hockey League, the National Collegiate Athletic Association and Amateur Athletic Union should bar all U.S. teams from participating in sports events involving the Soviet Union.

H. Con. Res. 191 Rep. LeBoutiller; 9/24/81

Expresses the sense of the Congress that U.S. athletic teams should refuse to participate in sporting events with Soviet athletic teams.

H.R. 4454 Rep. Fields, et al.; 9/10/81

Permits taxpayers to designate on their income tax returns an election to contribute $1 of their income tax refund or $1 forwarded with returns to support the fund established by the U.S.O.C. Development Fund Checkoff Act of 1981.

S. 1595 Sen. Inouye, et al.; 8/3/81

Permits taxpayers to designate on their income tax returns an election to contribute $1 of their income tax refund or $1 forwarded with returns to support the fund established by the U.S.O.C. Development Fund Checkoff Act of 1981.

APPENDIX IV

OTHER GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

Department of State Bulletin

February 1980

Pages 4-5	Secretary of State Cyrus Vance interview on "Today Show."
Pages 6-9	Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher interview on "Face the Nation."

March 1980

Pages 29-31	President Jimmy Carter interview on "Meet the Press."
Pages 37-39	Vance interview in New York Times.
Page 50	Vance speech to I.O.C. meeting on U.S. favoring transfer of Summer Olympics.
Pages 50-52	Carter and Christopher statement on Summer Olympics in Moscow and text of President's letter.

April 1980

Pages 12-16	Vance address and question-and-answer session to Council of Foreign Affairs on Afghanistan and America's course.
Page 39	White House statement on I.O.C. rejection of U.S. proposal to boycott Summer Olympics.
Pages 39-40	Vance text of news conference in Europe.
Page 46	White House statement on U.S. withdrawal from Summer Olympics.
Pages 53-58	Vance text of joint press conference for ANZUS Council.
Pages 58-59	Carter remarks on Australian Prime Ministers visit.

May 1980

Pages 3-8	Carter question-and-answer session before American Society of Newspaper Editors on U.S. course in a changing world.
Pages 14-15	Vice-President Walter Mondale speech before U.S.O.C. on U.S. calls for an Olympic boycott.
Pages 25-26	Christopher interview on "Issues and Answers."

Page 35 — White House statement on transactions prohibited for the Olympic Games.

June 1980

Pages 12-18 — Carter interview with foreign correspondents.

Pages 21-24 — Vance text to news conference in Canada.

Page 34 — Department statement on Canada and West Germany boycotting Olympic Games.

Page SS(A-D) — Secretary of State Edmund Muskie text to news conference.

July 1980

Page 30 — White House and Department statement on the Moscow Olympic Games.

August 1980

Pages 65-66 — Muskie text to question-and-answer session with Australian Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock.

Pages 71-72 — Muskie briefing on Afghanistan.

State Department Current Policy

Pages 1-3 — Mondale speech to U.S.O.C. (April 12, 1980)

Federal Register

Pages 2199-2202 — Prohibition of U.S. transactions in respect to the Olympic Games (April 3, 1980)

Code of Federal Regulations

Page 200 — Prohibitions of U.S. transactions in respect to the Olympic Games. (Title 15 - 1980)